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THE WOMEN OF CAESAR'S FAMILY¹

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It is an exceedingly interesting and striking fact that Julius Caesar's immediate family was composed almost exclusively of women—he had virtually no close male family ties during his life.

His father, of the same name as himself, died in 85 B.C.,² when the boy was but fifteen years old.³ We know next to nothing of the elder Caesar, and what has come down to us but illustrates how quaint the fragments are that time casts on the shores of the present. We are told that he had held the praetorship and died one morning at Pisa as his shoes were being fastened.⁴ His death left the guidance of Julius Caesar's education to his mother, and indeed it would seem that even before this time it had been under her charge.

She was named Aurelia⁵ and is described as a pure and virtuous woman.⁶ Her care of her son's education is likened to Cornelia's rearing of the Gracchi and Atia's training of the future Augustus.⁷ It is interesting to read that one of the teachers secured for the boy Caesar was Marcus Antonius Gniphio, a Gaul.⁸ So early did his connection with that land begin. We are told that "he received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth," and that he was "reared in the best possible way." One marked characteristic of Caesar's style in his maturity—indeed the

¹ Read at the third annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States.

² Throughout this paper 100 B.C. is taken as the year of Caesar's birth.

³ Suet. *Iul.* 1.

⁴ Plin. N.H. vii. 181.

⁵ In addition to the passages later discussed she is also mentioned in Ioh. Lydus *De mens.* iv. 102; cf. Zon. x. 11.

⁶ Plut. *Caes.* 9.

⁷ Tac. *Dial. de orat.* 28.

⁸ Suet. *de gram.* 7.

⁹ Dio 44. 38. The translations of Dio and Appian employed are those in the "Loeb Classical Library."

most marked characteristic—was his *elegantia*, a nicety and precision in the use of words, and this, we are led to believe, was in some measure due to the training he received at home.¹

Apparently Aurelia lived with her son, and there was great mutual affection. We shall get a glimpse of this if we take our stand at the door of Caesar's house on a certain morning in the year 63 B.C.² Caesar had dared to become a candidate for the office of *pontifex maximus* against two eminent leaders of the state. It is the day of the election, and as he leaves his home he thinks of the debt into which he has plunged, staking everything on his political success. Aurelia weeps as she comes forth with him; he embraces her and declares: "Mother, today you shall see your son *pontifex maximus* or—an exile." His sweeping victory prevented the fulfilment of the threat.

The strict virtue of this Roman matron is seen in connection with that famous scandal that occurred in 62 B.C. and had such far-reaching consequences.³ In that year the rites of Bona Dea were celebrated in Caesar's house by his wife, Pompeia; these rites were regularly held at the house of the consul or praetor (during this year Caesar was praetor) and presided over by the magistrate's wife. It was a festival for women, and men were forbidden to be present. But the notorious Publius Clodius was in love with Pompeia and believed it possible to gain an entrance to her in disguise on account of his feminine appearance.⁴ Apparently he had found an obstacle to earlier efforts on his part in the rigid care of Aurelia. "Strict watch was kept upon Pompeia's apartments; and Aurelia by an unwearying personal attendance upon her daughter-in-law rendered difficult and hazardous any meeting between the lovers."⁵ On this occasion Clodius succeeded in making his way into the house, but ultimately his voice betrayed him. "Aurelia first stopped the secret rites of the goddess, and made the women veil themselves; then, commanding the doors to be closed, went through

¹ Cic. *Brut.* 252.

² Suet. *Iul.* 13; Plut. *Caes.* 7. The quotations from Plutarch, save in the case of the life of Pompey, are from the translation by W. R. Frazer.

³ Suet. *Iul.* 6. 2; Dio 37. 45; Plut. *Caes.* 9-10; Appian B.C. 11. 14.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 6. 2; Liv. *Per.* 103; Plut. *Caes.* 10.

⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 9.

the house, torch in hand, in search of Clodius. He was discovered to have taken refuge in the chamber of the wench who had admitted him: and, his identity proved, the women drove him out of doors. Even though it was night, the women straightway dispersed [it will be observed that human nature has not changed] and related the circumstances to their husbands."

When the case came to trial,¹ Aurelia scrupulously told every detail,² but Clodius was acquitted—through bribery, it was believed. During the trial the jury had requested that they be given a guard to protect themselves against Clodius. When they acquitted him, Catulus declared that they had asked for the guard, not to protect themselves, but to protect the money they had received.³

It will be remembered that in the trial Clodius attempted to prove an alibi. "But when he persistently asserted, in reply to the charge of impiety, that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but was staying in the depths of the country, Cicero appeared as witness against him, and deposed that Clodius had come to his house upon that very day and had had some conversation with him."⁴ From this incident sprang Clodius' hatred of Cicero, which lasted until he had brought about Cicero's banishment, and even beyond that until Clodius himself was murdered by Milo's band on the Appian Road.

We know nothing further of Aurelia's life save that she bade her last farewell to her son early in 58 B.C., when he started for Gaul, and that she died in 54 B.C.,⁵ when Caesar was accomplishing the achievement that loomed larger in the imagination of his countrymen than any other deed of his during his Gallic proconsulate—the leading of Roman legions to Britain, the land beyond the ocean, a second world.

As far as we know, Caesar had no brothers and but two sisters, Julia Maior and Julia Minor. One of them (we do not know which) was called on together with her mother for evidence in regard to the famous Bona Dea affair, and supported Aurelia's words by telling honestly everything she knew of the matter.⁶

¹ Suet. *Iul.* 6. 2; Dio 37. 46.

⁴ Plut. *Cic.* 29.

² Suet. *Iul.* 74. 2.

⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 26.

³ Dio 37. 46.

⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 74. 2.

The elder Julia was married twice, to Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius; her two grandsons, of the same names as their grandfathers, inherited jointly one-fourth of the great Caesar's estate.¹

Julia Minor married Marcus Atius Balbus;² they had a daughter Atia, who was the mother of the future Augustus. The latter inherited the remaining three-fourths of his great-uncle's property³ and was adopted by him in his will. In the year 52 B.C. Julia Minor died (another loss sustained by Caesar during his Gallic campaign), and her funeral eulogy was delivered by the young Augustus, then still Octavius, at the mature age of eleven.⁴ Because Caesar's sister thus married into the Atian gens, and the emperor Augustus derived his lineage from them as well as from the Julii, Virgil (*Aen.* v. 568) tells us that the boy Iulus had a beloved friend Atys, from whom the Atii were sprung:

Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.

Before Caesar had assumed the toga of manhood he had already become engaged to a certain Cossutia,⁵ a woman of only equestrian family, but recommended by her wealth. Apparently Caesar's father, then still alive, had been responsible for the engagement, and when the boy donned the *toga virilis*, he seems to have married her.⁶ From this union there was no offspring, and in 84 B.C.,⁷ after his father's death, Caesar divorced her and made a brilliant marriage with Cornelia,⁷ daughter of the great Cinna, partner of Marius in the leadership of the popular party. Cinna was probably dead when his daughter married, but it must have pleased the *populares* to have this precocious boy, whose aunt was Marius' widow,⁷ bound by an additional tie to their party. In the following year Cornelia bore him a daughter,⁷ Julia, Caesar's only legitimate child.

¹ Suet. *Iul.* 83. 2; Appian B.C. iii. 22.

² Suet. *Aug.* 4.

³ Suet. *Iul.* 83. 2. Liv. *Per.* 116 incorrectly says *heres ex parte dimidia*.

⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 8. 1. Quint. *Inst. Or.* xii. 6. 1. gives the age as twelve, while Nicolaus of Damascus (chap. 3) states that he was about nine years of age.

⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 1.

⁶ *Classical Philology*, XII, 93-96.

⁷ Plut. *Caes.* 1.

We have no hint of affection or lack of affection between Cornelia and her husband. With her, however, is connected one incident that does not so much show his love for her as it does reveal the firmness of the boy, for he was hardly more than that. In 82 B.C., when he was but eighteen years old, Sulla became master of the state.¹ In tyrannical fashion he bade a number of men divorce their wives. Marcus Piso, for example, had married Annia, Cinna's widow; he was ordered to divorce her and did so.² Pompey the Great was urged to divorce his wife in order to wed Sulla's step-daughter; he too complied.³ But when Caesar was ordered to put aside Cornelia, Cinna's daughter, he refused. He had been named *flamen Dialis*; this priestly office was now taken from him. He was also stripped of his family inheritances and his wife's dowry.⁴ Then men were sent to murder him; this, it must be admitted, was due to the servants and aids of Sulla rather than to the dictator himself. The boy had to put on mean garb, and after making his escape from Rome by night fled to the Sabine country, still followed by his pursuers; he was ill, suffering from a fever that recurred every four days, but still, in order to escape Sulla's men, he had to find a new resting-place almost every night. In fact once he was actually caught, but was able to bribe their officer to let him go.⁵ Meantime the Vestal Virgins and influential relatives who were members of Sulla's party interceded with the dictator for his pardon. And at last he reluctantly capitulated, but warned his friends that some day the boy would destroy the party they had together supported, for "there is many a Marius in Caesar."

Cornelia lived until 68 B.C.,⁶ the year of Caesar's quaestorship.⁷ For sixteen years she was at the head of his house in the Subura⁸ at Rome, and at her death left him a daughter of fifteen years.

At about the same time Julia, the widow of Marius, also died,⁹ and Caesar honored the memory of the two by funeral eulogies from the rostrum. As far as any trace of romantic love is concerned, we

¹ Vell. ii. 41. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 9.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 1.

⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 1; Suet. *Iul.* 74. 1.

⁶ Or 67 B.C.

⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁹ Plut. *Caes.* 5; Suet. *Iul.* 6.

must confess that Caesar was much more interested in the eulogy of Marius' widow and in stressing the great lineage of her (and his own) family than in the eulogy of his wife. "The delivery of funeral orations over women of advanced years was an immemorial custom of the Romans, but it was not the practice in the case of young women. In spite of this Caesar created a precedent by speaking on the occasion of his own wife's death—an act which brought him some credit and joined with his bereavement in securing the affection of the masses. They loved him as a man of gentle and sensitive disposition."¹

Immediately after the funeral of his wife he went as quaestor to Spain,² and on his return in 67³ he married a third time, and again contracted a marriage with a woman descended from a great political leader. This was Pompeia, the granddaughter of the great Sulla.⁴ How Caesar, the successor of Marius, came to unite himself with the family of Sulla is a mystery, but that the marriage had political value for him we may rest assured. She it was who was beloved by Clodius⁵ and who returned his love.⁶ She presided over the rites of Bona Dea when the great scandal arose. That she was guilty in her relations with Clodius cannot of course be proved,⁷ but some of the ancient authorities feel no doubt of it.⁸ Shortly afterward Caesar divorced her, but without assigning a reason. And when subsequently he was called as a witness at the trial of Clodius, he did not incriminate Clodius in anything he said. The question was naturally hurled at him: "Why then did you divorce your wife?" and in reply he uttered those words that in one form or another are so well known: "Because I maintain that the members of my family should be free from suspicion, as well as from guilt."⁹ Why he took

¹ Plut. *Caes.* 5.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 6; Plut. *Caes.* 5.

² *Ibid.*

⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 6; Dio 37. 45.

³ Or 66 B.C.

⁶ Plut. *Caes.* 9.

⁷ It is to be noted that in the contemporary account by Cicero (*Ad Att.* i. 12. 3 and i. 13. 3) written in 61 B.C. nothing is mentioned as criminal in Clodius' conduct save the sacrilege involved in his presence at the rites; Appian (ii. 14) merely says that her guilt had been suspected.

⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 74. 2; Dio 37. 45; Vell. ii. 45. 1.

⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 74. 2 (trans. by J. C. Rolfe in "Loeb Classical Library"); Dio 37. 45; Plut. *Caes.* 10.

the course he did we cannot be certain. He may have thought her innocent, but rather through Aurelia's vigilance and chance than her own virtue, or at any rate he may have felt that her guilt could not be established beyond the peradventure of a doubt. But it is usually thought that his motives were political. It has been declared that in pursuing this course "his object was to curry favor with the people who were intent on saving Clodius";¹ moreover, he may have felt that because of this popularity with the people a conviction was very improbable.² And by avoiding a direct charge against his wife Caesar unquestionably won favor from Pompeia's kin and many who had been members of the Sullan faction.

In 59 B.C. Caesar was married again. He was at that time consul³ and also a member of the unofficial First Triumvirate, which had been created during the preceding year. It was again a political marriage; Lucius Calpurnius Piso, shortly after elected to succeed Caesar as one of the consuls for the following year,⁴ had an unmarried daughter, Calpurnia, and Caesar now married her. The influence of his father-in-law is to be seen in the fact that, in Caesar's effort to secure Gaul as his province for the five years after his consulship, his strongest support came from Pompey and Piso.⁵

Of Calpurnia's life with Caesar we know but little; she continued to live on at Rome in the *domus publica* on the Sacra Via, Caesar's official residence as *pontifex maximus*.⁶ But in March, 58 B.C. (less than a year after their marriage), Caesar left for his campaigns in Gaul, and he did not enter the city again until April, 49 B.C., when he remained in Rome only for a very short time and one that was filled with public business. Then followed the campaign in Spain, a brief visit to Rome in December, 49, the fighting at Dyrrachium, Pharsalus, the pursuit of Pompey, the Alexandrian War, and the lightning stroke against Pharnaces. For a few months toward the end of 47 he was in Rome; then he hurried off

¹ Plut. *Caes.* 10; Appian B.C. ii. 14.

² Dio 37. 45.

³ Suet. *Iul.* 21; Appian B.C. ii. 14; Dio 38. 9. 1; Plut. *Caes.* 14.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 21; Plut. *Cato Minor* 33.

⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 22; Plut. *Caes.* 14.

⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 46.

to the African War. Back once more he came to Rome, where he busied himself with triumphs and statecraft. In November, 46, he departed for Spain and his last campaign. Not till October, 45, did he re-enter the city after the victory at Munda, there to remain until the fatal ides of March.

The wife of Caesar saw but little of her husband during those years. She had to bear more, however, than mere absence; she had to endure his liaisons with other women. That they did exist seems certain, even if some of the tales are to be discounted.¹ None of his wives, as far as we know, murmured at his infidelities, and even the presence of Cleopatra² in Caesar's gardens across the Tiber from the summer of 46 to April, 44, though it was the subject of much talk at Rome, did not apparently draw a word from Calpurnia. Indeed Cleopatra probably had with her in Rome the child Caesarion, who was believed to be the son of Caesar³ and was said by some to resemble him greatly.⁴

Caesar was entirely ready to divorce Calpurnia when political considerations were involved, for some time after 54 B.C. he asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter, though she was then affianced to another.⁵ If Caesar loved Calpurnia, at any rate there were other things he valued more highly. The negotiations fell through, and till the end Calpurnia was his wife.

She bore him no child, but to the last the birth of a son was a hope he did not abandon, and in his last will, made in September, 45, he named guardians for his son, if one should still be born to him.⁶

How great her love for him was we do not know, but her fears and anxieties before his assassination suggest at least some measure of affection. The ancient biographers and historians teem with references to her visions the night before Caesar's assassination. She dreamed that he was murdered in her arms,⁷ and that the

¹ Suet. *Iul.* 50-52; Dio 44. 7. 3.

² Suet. *Iul.* 52. 1; Dio 43. 27. 3; Hier. under Olymp. 183; Cic. *Ad Att.* xiv. 8. 1; xv. 15. 2.

³ Nic. Dam. 20; Plut. *Caes.* 49; Zon. x. 10.

⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 27. 1.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 52.

⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 83. 2.

⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 81. 3; Appian B.C. ii. 115; Plut. *Caes.* 63; Zon. x. 11; cf. also Nic. Dam. 23 and Vell. ii. 57. 2.

pediment which had been placed on his house by decree of the senate as an especial mark of distinction had fallen.¹ On that night, too, all the doors of the bedroom opened of themselves, and the noise they made, as well as the moonlight which poured into the room awakened Caesar;² and by the light he saw that Calpurnia was sleeping, but muttering indistinctly in her dreams.

When daylight came she earnestly begged him not to go to the senate that morning, and her entreaties, together with his own poor health³ and the unfavorable omens,⁴ led him to declare that he would remain at home that day and send Antony to dismiss the senate.⁵ But Decimus Brutus, whom Caesar regarded as one of his closest friends, argued him out of this resolve, sneering at women's dreams. So with anxiety on Calpurnia's part Caesar left the house.

It is said that shortly after he had gone an intimate friend of his ran to Caesar's house to inform him of the plot, and then waited there with Calpurnia "for him to come back from the senate, for he did not know all the particulars of the affair."⁶

And after a time there came to the house on the Sacra Via a litter borne by three slaves, on which lay the body of Caesar, one arm dragging⁷ and the wounds on the face clearly visible. As it approached, Calpurnia rushed out with her slave-women and gave vent to loud cries, grieving bitterly that she had failed to keep him at home.⁸ With her cries over the body of her husband Calpurnia disappears from our view. The historians are only interested in her as Caesar's wife, and when he passes from the stage the curtain falls on her also.⁹

¹ Suet. *Iul.* 81. 3; Dio 44. 17. 1; Plut. *Caes.* 63; Iul. Obseq. 67.

² Plut. *Caes.* 63. Iul. Obseq. 67 says that Calpurnia was awakened.

³ Nic. Dam. 23; Suet. *Iul.* 81. 4.

⁴ Appian B.C. ii. 115; Dio 44. 17. 3; Plut. *Caes.* 63; Plut. *Brut.* 16; Zon. x. 11.

⁵ Appian B.C. ii. 115; Plut. *Caes.* 63; Zon. x. 11.

⁶ Appian B.C. ii. 116. The story with some changes appears in Plut. *Caes.* 64 and Zon. x. 11.

⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 82. 3; Appian B.C. ii. 118; Nic. Dam. 26.

⁸ Nic. Dam. 25.

⁹ After Caesar's death Calpurnia had his money and official papers transferred to Antony's house, either at the latter's order or because she thought they would be safer there (Appian B.C. ii. 125; Plut. *Ant.* 15).

Julia was Caesar's only legitimate child. She was the offspring of his marriage with Cornelia, and was born probably in 83 B.C. She lived with her father, first in the house in the Subura, later in the *domus publica*, until her marriage with Pompey in 59 B.C.¹ She had been engaged to Servilius Caepio,² who had been a valiant supporter of Caesar during his consulship, and the wedding day was near at hand, but higher political interests were now at stake than the reward of a faithful supporter. And so the engagement was severed in order that, in addition to the bond of mutual interest, that of relationship might unite Pompey and Caesar, who had but a short time before joined Crassus in forming the First Triumvirate. The marriage was entered upon suddenly and unexpectedly,³ and since it was contracted at about the same time as Caesar's marriage with Calpurnia, it called forth the bitter denunciation of Cato. "He raised a loud and vigorous protest. It was intolerable, he exclaimed, to see the empire being bartered away in marriages, and persons promoting one another, through the medium of female nonentities, to provinces, to military commands, and to the highest offices of state."⁴

What particularly angered Cato was the following incident. "His marriage with Caesar's daughter consummated, Pompey filled the forum with armed men, and supported the people in ratifying Caesar's measures, and Caesar in acquiring the government of the two Gauls for five years with the addition of Illyricum and four legions."⁵

There was a great discrepancy in age between Pompey and his wife, as he was forty-six and she but twenty-four. But in spite of this and in spite of the political considerations that had caused the marriage, it seems to have been a singularly happy one. Plutarch informs us that in 54 B.C. after Pompey's consulship he "went about and spent his time with his wife in the various places of amusement in Italy,"⁶ though for the sake of strict accuracy the

¹ Suet. *Iul.* 21; Plut. *Cato Minor* 31; Appian B.C. ii. 14; Dio 38. 9; Aulus Gellius iv. 10. 5; Vell. ii. 44.

² Dio 38. 9. 1; Plut. *Caes.* 14; Suet. *Iul.* 21; Appian B.C. ii. 14; Plut. *Pomp.* 47.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 17. 1; Plut. *Pomp.* 47.

⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 14; Zon. x. 6.

⁴ Plut. *Caes.* 14; cf. also Appian B.C. ii. 14.

⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* 53.

biographer feels it incumbent on him to make it clear that he is uncertain "whether Pompey did it through love of her, or because she loved him, and he could not bear to leave her, for this also is stated." But Plutarch declares in no uncertain terms: "The love displayed by this young wife for her elderly husband was a matter of general note to be attributed, it would seem, to his constancy in married life, and to his dignity of manner, which in familiar intercourse was tempered with grace and gentleness, and was particularly attractive to women."

There is a pretty story of her love for Pompey that concerns the election of aediles in 55 B.C.¹ At the comitia fighting broke out and a number of men who were about Pompey were killed. His clothes were spattered with blood, and he sent his servants home with these blood-stained garments to procure him clean ones. The slaves made considerable noise and disturbance about the house, so that Julia's attention was attracted, and as she "saw his gown all stained with blood, she dropped immediately into a swoon and was with difficulty brought to life again." And "even those who chiefly censured Pompey for his friendship for Caesar could not reprove him for his affection to so attached a wife."

Not only was Pompey Caesar's son-in-law and partner in the Triumvirate, but up to the time of the breaking out of the Civil War he was also named as Caesar's heir in his will.²

At one time he was advised to divorce Julia and abandon Caesar's friendship to gain that of the senate, but he would not listen to the suggestion.³

In September of 54 B.C. Julia bore a child, but died in childbirth,⁴ in the same year as Aurelia, Caesar's mother. The *imperator* was in Britain and learned the news when he reached the mainland. "On landing in Gaul he received some letters from his friends in Rome, which were on the point of being sent over to him in Britain. They announced his daughter's death. Both Pompey and Caesar were stricken with great grief,⁵ while their friends were confounded

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 53; Dio 39. 32. 2. Valerius Maximus (iv. 6. 4) incorrectly states that the occurrence brought about her death.

² Suet. *Iul.* 83. 1.

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 49.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 26. 1; Appian B.C. ii. 19; Dio 39. 64; Serv. *Aen.* vi. 830; Zon. x. 6.

⁵ In Cic. *De prov. cons.* 35 appears a hint of Caesar's love for Julia.

at the dissolution of that intimacy which had preserved the state, despite its various infirmities, in peace and concord."¹ A few days after Julia her child died.²

Pompey had made preparations for his wife's interment at his estate near Alba, but the people forcibly seized the body and performed the rites on the Campus Martius, where her remains were also laid to rest. This the people did to show respect to her rather than to either Pompey or Caesar.³

In memory of his daughter Caesar promised a gladiatorial show and a funeral banquet to the people,⁴ a thing which no one had done before him, and in 46 B.C., when he celebrated his great triumphs, he accordingly presented a gladiatorial spectacle and a naval battle in her honor.⁵

The marriage had been a political one, and the political consequences of her death were obvious—the strongest tie that bound Pompey and Caesar was broken.⁶ "And fear fell upon all lest with the termination of this marriage connection Caesar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other."⁷ Indeed through the death of Julia's child fortune seemed intent on severing all bonds between the two.⁸

When Julius Caesar himself died and the preparations were made for his funeral, the funeral pyre was erected in the Campus Martius hard by the tomb of his daughter;⁹ the plan, to be sure, was not carried out, as his body was burned in the Forum.¹⁰

It is impossible to break through the impersonal reserve of Caesar's writings and discover his feelings; if we relied on his *Commentaries* alone, no one would know that the year of his second British campaign witnessed the death of his mother, his daughter, and his grandchild. There are several hints in Roman authors

¹ Plut. *Caes.* 23. Seneca *Ad Marc. de cons.* 14. 3 incorrectly states that he heard the news in Britain.

² Suet. *Iul.* 26. 1; Dio 40. 44. 3; Lucan v. 474 and ix. 1049.

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 53; Plut. *Caes.* 23; cf. also Liv. *Per.* 106.

⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 26. 2.

⁸ Vell. ii. 47. 2.

⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 55.

⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 84. 1.

⁶ Cf. also Lucan i. 111–20.

¹⁰ Suet. *Iul.* 84. 3.

⁷ Appian B.C. ii. 19; Florus ii. 13. 13.

indicating that he bore his grief with steadfastness. Says Cicero in a letter to his brother, Quintus, written in November, 54:¹ "De virtute et gravitate Caesaris, quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistula tua accepi voluptatem." And we are not only told that he thrust the sorrow from his heart,² but even that he performed his duties as commander within the third day after he heard of her death.³ One of the letters he wrote at the time was so full of kindness that it touched its recipient all the more.⁴ But that his grief was deep cannot be doubted. Proof of this may be found in two letters of Cicero's. In one⁵ he says: "But I have not dared to write to him on account of his grief." The other was written to Cicero's brother, Quintus,⁶ who, it will be remembered, was at this time one of Caesar's *legati*. Cicero says: "Caesar wrote me a letter from Britain on the kalends of September; this I received on the fourth day before the kalends of October. The letter was entirely satisfactory with reference to matters in Britain, and in it he wrote, in order that I should not be surprised at receiving none from you, that he had not been accompanied by you when he went to the sea." And then Cicero adds: "Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi ne gratulandi quidem causa propter eius luctum." Even congratulations upon opening a new world to Roman arms seemed out of place amid Caesar's grief at the death of his child.

¹ Cic. *Ad Quint. Frat.* iii. 8. 3.

² Tac. *Annals* iii. 6.

³ Seneca *Ad Marc. de cons.* 14. 3.

⁴ Cic. *Ad Quint. Frat.* iii. 1. 17.

⁵ Cic. *Ad fam.* vii. 9. 1: "sed ad eum propter eius luctum nihil sum ausus scribere."

⁶ *Ad Quint. Frat.* iii. 1. 7. 25.